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AUTHOR Struve, Patrick William; Snider, Bill
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ABSTRACT

An attempt is made in this investigation to determine if a civic education program as found in this school in the midwest can develop attitudes conducive to active participation in political and public affairs. Students were asked to fill out a questionnaire based on scales developed to measure attitudes and opinions on politics, citizenship, and knowledge of political news media. Parents were asked their party affiliation and political activities. Results indicate that the intensity and variety of political experiences the young have in their home determine their ability to perceive and internalize the various messages and stimuli received from the school, community, peers, teachers, mass media, political events, and public personalities. Therefore, the political socialization process is a conserving system which does not drastically alter political behavior, beliefs, or attitudes of the adolescent. When change or cynicism does occur, it is probably the result of direct, purposeful experience. (KJ)

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THE POLITICAL SOCIALIZATION OF ADOLESCENTS: A STUDY OF STUDENTS IN A MIDWESTERN HIGH SCHOOL

A paper prepared for presentation at the 1970 Annual Meeting of the American Educational Research Association, March 4, Minneapolis, Minnesota

by

Patrick William Struve, Ph. D.
Ball State University

And

Bill Snider, Ph. D.
The University of Iowa

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The American adolescent is portrayed by many writers as a politically apathetic individual who harbors undemocratic beliefs that are covered over with a veneer of partiotism. Various students of this subject express concern about the adequacy of the socialization of the young of the nation to a sense of citizenship that includes an awareness of, and participation in, the political system. Some claim the adolescent is actually alienated from the political system. It has also been conjectured that adolescent experiences in the school could possibly be the origin of the political alienation and cynicism shown by some young adults in their third and fourth decades of life.

Recently a number of publications have been available in which the authors have investigated the influence the teenage sub-culture has on the attitudes and beliefs of the adolescent. Many of these studies have implications for the study of political socialization. However, such studies have often ignored the growth and development of adolescent beliefs and attitudes about the political system.

This study determined the degree to which the adolescent was aware of politics and the degree to which he accepted the obligation of voting and participation in the political system. A second purpose was to discover which of the various agencies of political socialization had contributed to the degree of political awareness and sense of political obligation. To obtain this information, the important task was to determine what social units, what experiences, influenced the development of beliefs and attitudes of adolescents.

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The modern high school student finds himself a member of several social institutions, each with its own messages, directives, and lessons to be mastered or ignored. From previous research, it was concluded that a study of the family environment, experiences in school, exposure to the community, and exposure of the individual to the mass media would permit the greatest insight in an attempt to identify the means by which individuals learn their political behavior.

Political behavior is learned behavior. The political learning process, which has been ignored in many studies of the adolescent, therefore, has been investigated here to determine what politically relevant attitudes are associated with the social units of the adolescent environment.

The Community Environment

The communtiy involved in this study is Iowa City, Iowa, a Mid-western university city of 41,602 population. The city is the core community of the ninth largest county in the state and, historically, was the early capital of the state; and since 1856 the community has been the home of the largest institution of higher learning in the state.

The city is a predominately white community of which 1.5 percent of the population is non-white. The population of the county has a median age of 24.4 with fifty-three percent of the total population under the age of 26. Median age for the state population is 30.2. These figures reflect the influence of the approximately seventeen thousand college students who reside in the city during the academic year.[1]

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[1]U. S. Bureau of Census, 1960 Census of the United States: General Social and Economic Characteristics of Iowa, Table 72, pp. 17-210.

The population of this county is well above the state median both in individual income and attained education. The median individual income figure for the state is $4,240, whereas the median individual income in this community is $5,769. Incomes of $3,000 or less are earned by 14.6 percent of the population and 16.7 percent have incomes over $10,000.[2]

In educational background the community again exceeds the state median figure which is 10.4 completed years of school for males and 12.0 for females. Fifty percent of the males have completed 13.2 or more years of school. This figure is 12.7 for the women.[3]

The citizens participate in many effectively active clubs and organizations which help promote the overall result of a well-run city.

According to figures released by the Secretary of State, this community is one of twenty-six cities in the state with a population of over 10,000 that has more registered Democrats than Republicans.[4] Only four other cities in the state can claim this characteristic. In March, 1966, there were 16,398 eligible voters in the city, of which 3,932 are registered Democrates and 3,249 are Republicans.[5] Regardless of the closeness of these figures, the Democrats have dominated in the general elections in the period from 1932 through the 1964 election.

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[2]Mary Megee, "Iowa's Urban Structure and Growth," Iowa Business Digest, XXXVII (June, 1966), 7.

[3]U. S. Bureau of the Census, Ibid., Table 35, pp. 17-166.

[4]Des Moines Register, January 26, 1966, p. 10.

[5]Prior to July 4, 1966, a voter did not have to declare his party affiliation in the State of Iowa.

They have controlled all county offices during this period and have delivered a majority vote for the Democratic candidate for govenor in each election since 1950. During the same period, 1932-1964, no Republican senatorial candidate has outpolled his opponent in the county.[6] This county represents a Democratic island in a state that has been dominated by the Republican party.

The city is the home of a former Democratic Congressman, three members of the state legislature, three former state assemblymen and a past state safety commissioner. The current Johnson County State House delegation is composed of two Democrats and one Republican.

Local, state, and national political news is readily accessible to the population. The local newspaper, daily except Sunday, has been cited on two recent occasions for outstanding reporting of community affairs. National, regional, international and state news is available to the citizen from the columns of a state and three regional newspapers. Two radio stations operate in the city, one an affiliate of the University. The population can also view all of the television networks.

This communtiy is populated by a well-educated people, predominantly white, middle and upper-middle class in income. The occupations of the working population are mainly professional, service workers, managerial and clerical.[7] These people have ample opportunity to inform themselves of public affairs. The characteristics of the popu-

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[6]Information taken from the officia; state canvass filed at the University of Iowa library.

[7]Of 14,248 employed adults over 21, these four job categories contain 10,127 workers: professional, 4,296; service workers, 2,757; managerial, 936; clerical, 2,138, U.S. Bureau of Census, op. cit., Table 77, pp. 17-214.

lation in this study, namely high educational attainment, above average incomes, competitive political aprties, and accessibility to news media, is such as to provide an environment that creates an interest in public affairs and partisan politics. It is an assumption of this writer that such an environment should be a good training ground for young citizens.

Milbrath cites studies that indicate the more competitive the parties are, the greater the likelihood of a high rate of participation.

> Party competition probably affects participation by stimulating interest in a campaign and giving citizens the impression that their individual efforts affect the outcome.[8]

If Milbrath is correct, then party competition such as is found in this community should stimulate mass participation.

The School Environment

The educational institution in this city is a three-year senior high school. It is one of three such schools in the community. The school is accredited by the state and the regional accrediting agency. The school district is organized on a 6-3-3 plan and operates on an 190-day academic year. An instructional day is composed of six fifty-minute periods. The 1965-66 enrollment in grades 10,11, and 12 was 1,115. Of this total, 391 were sophmores, 399 juniors, and 326 seniors. This student body represents sixty-four percent of the community's adolescents attending school the second semester of the 1965-66 school year.

The social studies curriculum of the school system is similar to most programs in the state and the nation. Before attending the high school, the students complete required courses in geography, American

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[8]Milbrath, Political Participation (Chicago: Rand McNally and Company, 1965), 97.

history and civics. In high school, American history and world history are required for graduation. In addition, the students can elect any of the one-semester courses offered in world affairs, domestic issues, economics, goverment, geography, psychology, and sociology.

The type of social studies curriculum found in this high school is essectially the pattern of course offerings recommended in 1916 by the Committee on Social Studies. This pattern is very familiar to the Midwest and to the entire nation.[9] The philosophy underlying such a "traditional" approach to civic education seems to say that an "interest in political participation will develop primarily from a solid understanding of the facts of political life and a comprehension of the political process."[10] In this light, civic education to most students becomes reading, recitation, examination and a grade. Little attempt is made to bring the student into contact with the actual experience of politics.

The school sponsors the usual extra-curricular activities found in a comprehensive high school. The activities that are of special interest to this study are the student council, class officers and class councils. These organizations represent the contribution of students to the management of the school. Their purpose is outlined in the Student Handbook as follows:

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[9]Bertram A. Masia, "Profile of the Current Secondary Social Studies Curriculum in North Central Association Schools," North Central Association, 1962.

[10]Marvin Schick and Albert Somit, "The Failure to Teach Political Activity," American Behavioral Scientist, VI (January, 1962), 5-8.

There is a twenty-four member student council composed of eight members from each of the three classes, each being elected by their respective classes. Also, each organization of City High is eligible to elect a member to attend the student council meetings. These members of clubs will not have voting privileges.

The purpose of the student council is to provide a body of representative student leaders who will act as a liaison between the student body and the faculty and administration. The council originates topics and carries out a widely varied group of projects which contribute to the general improvement of the school and its smooth operation.

All three classes have their own President, Vice-president and Secretary-Treasurer. The Junior and Senior classes also elect a junior and a senior council. The latter two groups are concerned with the conduct of the business and activities of their respective classes. They are not considered class officers. President, Vice-President, and Secretary-Treasurer of the Sophmore class are automatically members of the Student Council.[11]

Special Activities that bear on citizenship education are limited. An exception to this was the mock political convention carried out in the Spring of 1964, and mock ekections in the fall of each election year. Students plan and manage these events.

Through their central committees, both political parties sponsor and support teenage political clubs. In 1965-66, membership in these organizations was small, fifteen for the Democrats and seventeen for the Republicans. Both parties have assisted interested students to attend party functions such as county and state conventions.

Hypotheses of the Study

An attempt is made in this investigation to determine if a civic education program as found in this school can develop attitudes conducive

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[11]Student Handbook, "Code for Hawklets," Iowa City High School, Iowa City, Iowa.

to active participation in political and public affairs. To determine what factors have contributed to the political socialization of this group of teenagers, the following hypotheses have been developed:

1. Students who have a greater exposure to the social studies programs will exhibit a general increase in a sense of citizen duty and, feeling of political efficacy,

2. Increase in age of student will result in a general increase in the sense of citizen duty and feeling of political efficacy.

3. Boys and girls do not differ in degree of sense of citizen duty and feeling of political efficacy.

4. Students who exhibit a high degree of participation in extra-curricular affairs and community activities will exhibit a greater degree of a sense of citizen duty and feeling of political efficacy, than students who do not participate in such activities.

5. Students from upper socio-economic families will exhibit a greater degree of sense of citizen duty and feeling of political efficacy, than students from lower socio-economic families.

6. Students who report participation, interest in discussion of politics in their families will have a greater degree of sense of citizen duty and feeling of political efficacy than students who report apathetic political behavior on the part of their parents.

7. Students who have engaged in partisan political activity will exhibit a greater degree of sense of citizen duty, and feeling of political efficacy than students who have not had their experience.

8. Students who are frequent users of magazines and television will exhibit a greater degree of sense of citizen duty, and feeling of political efficacy, than students who are not exposed in some manner to

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magazines and television.

Instrument Used for the Study

The instrument of measurement, a questionnaire, used in this study was constructed from a combination of sources. These items are both closed and open-ended response questions. Two scales, from earlier research on adult political behavior, have been used to measure the attitudes and opinions on politics and public issues of the respondents.[12] Two other scales, concept of citizenship[13] and knowledge of political news media, were used to classify attitudes and perceptions of the students. The items that make up the scales are interspersed throughout the questionnaire in order to reduce the response bias of the student. The student was also asked to indicate his participation in political activities, and interests and activity of his parents in partisan politics.

The parents of the respondents were sent a postal card questionnaire that requested them to indicate in what political activity they had participated and their political party affiliation. On the basis of the information provided, each family was classifies as either politically active, a political spectator, or apathetic. The first group was defined as consisting of people who are seriously involved

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[12]The scales are: "sense of citizen duty," Angus Campbell and Robert L. Kahn, The Voter Decides (Evanston: Row, Peterson, 1954), 194-99; "feeling of political efficacy," Ibid., 187-94.

[13]Scale was developed from Frederic L. Ager and Bernard R. Carman, "High School Students Evaluate Adult Citizens," Social Education, XV (November, 1951), 375-76.

in politics as office-holders, candidates or who contribute substantially to party activity. Spectators are defined as people who observe the political contest, discuss the issues and vote. The apathetic person is defined as one who generally ignores politics and does not vote.[14]

Each family was also classified as to occupational and educational level of the head of the household. Income is omitted from consideration because of the inability of the students to indicate the correct amount of income of the family.[15]

Administration of the Instrument

This instrument was administered to all students of a Midwestern high school who were enrolled in a social studies course during the second semester of the 1965-66 school year. The questionnaire was given during the final two weeks of school to six hundred seventy-nine students in grades ten, eleven, and twelve. A pretest of the instrument had been administered prior to this. Ninth grade students of the same school district were used in this pretest.

The investigator personally administered the questionnaire to all the respondents. Each section of the instrument was explained and closely supervised to insure the fullest possible comprehension of each item in the questionnaire. The following instructions were read to all students at the beginning of the period:

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[14]For further clarification of these definitions, see Milbrath, op. cit., 16-22.

[15]Stephen B. Withey, "Reliability of Recall of Income," Public Opinion Quarterly, XVIII (Summer, 1954), 197-204.

> Today you are asked to contribute information about yourself and your family that will be used to study the development of the political system of our nation. This information is requested to learn about your ideas and opinions on politics, and political activity. Be sure you have answered all the questions in the manner requested. Your exact opinion is what is needed. The answers to these questions will be treated as confidential. Now, read the directions on page one carefully and wait for instructions to start.

Honesty was stressed as an important factor.

Analytical Measures Employed

To test the above hypotheses, since the distribution of the proportions are discrete, chi square was used as a test of independence.[16] The contingency coefficient, a descriptive measure of association between variables, was also computed.

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[16]For a discussion of the Chi square statistic, see Helen M. Walker and Joseph Lev, Statistical Inference (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1953), 81-101.

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Motivational Attitude Toward Political Participation

To gain an insight into the attitudes of the adolescents, their attitudes about politics were probed from three directions in the hope that it would be possible to determine just how important they considered participation in the political system to be. First, they were asked to indicate "what an individual must do to fulfill the duties of a good citizen."[17]

An answer coded as "conforming" is one in which the individual saw the role of a good citizen as one of obeying the laws, respecting others, maintaining good health, paying taxes. This type of answer made no mention of voting, or political participation of any type. A student who was coded as a "contributor" will have mentioned all or some of the

TABLE 1

The Role of a Good Citizen as Defined
by the Students
(in percentages)

Type of Activity	Total	Number
Conforming	33.4	227
Contributing	44.5	302
Participating	12.8	87
No Response	9.3	63
	100.0	679

[17]Ager and Carman, loc. cit.

above but also mentioned voting and some type of community participation as attributes of good citizenship. Only those answers that included the words "participate in politics, elections, political part activity" or words to that effect were recorded as "participating" answers. The ideal answer, therefore, would be one in which a student included the conforming, contributing and participating items. From the response, it is observed that 12.8 percent included party activity as an attribute of the good citizen. A far greater number saw the duty of citizenship as a voter in elections and participator in community activity. However, 33.4 percent failed to mention a political act, or community service as an act of good citizenship.

It has been found that adolescent boys tend to see the duties of a good citizen more as conformance to standards than girls (Table 2), but more boys believe the good citizen should participate in politics. A greater percentage of the girls see the good citizen as a voter and contributor to community voluntary organizations. Thus it seems the experiences these adolescent citizens have had have socialized them to a different concept of the good citizen. This can be an indication that during the adolescent years the adult pattern of male dominance in political activity and female dominance in community voluntary groups had already been established.

The data also indicate that the adolescents' concept of the good citizen tends to change as they matured. The trend is away from the conforming-contributer pattern in the early years to one that generally

TABLE 2

Association Between the Sex of the Adolescent
and His Concept of the Good Citizen
(in percentages)

Concept of Citizenship	Sex		Total
	Boy	Girl	
Conforming	38.2	28.2	33.4
Contributing	36.0	53.7	44.5
Participating	14.7	10.7	12.8
No Answer	11.0	7.4	9.3
Total	99.9	100.0	100.0
No. of Cases	353	326	679

$x^2 = 21.63$ P < .001 C = .176

TABLE 3

Association Between the Age of the Adolescent
and His Description of a Good Citizen
(in percentages)

Description of a Good Citizen	Age of Student				Total
	15	16	17	18	
Conforming	45.7	34.8	35.7	25.4	33.4
Contributing	40.0	49.5	44.0	40.2	44.5
Participating	11.4	10.6	12.3	16.6	12.8
No Answer	2.9	5.1	7.9	17.8	9.3
Total	100.0	100.0	99.9	100.0	100.0
No. of Cases	35	198	277	169	679

$x^2 = 29.046$ P < .001 C = .202

sees the duty of the good citizen as a contributor-participator. Table 3 indicates that the big change is the result of the older students expanding their concept of the good citizen to include participation in politics. It is suggested that this increased acceptance of voting and political participation as a civic obligation is the result of the interaction of the adolescent with the numerous environments and experiences he has had.

The second indicator of attitude was the sense of citizen duty. According to the originators of this scale, a sense of citizen duty is the feeling that one has a responsibility to participate in the political system.[18] Such a measure serves as an indication of the future political activity in which these adolescents will engage. The four statements the respondents were asked to agree or disagree with are as follows:

1. It isn't so important to vote when you know your party doesn't have a chance to win.
2. A good many local elections aren't important enough to bother with.
3. So many other people vote in the national elections that it doesn't matter much to me whether I vote or not.
4. If a person doesn't care how an election comes out, he shouldn't vote in it.

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[18]Angus, Campbell, et al., The Voter Decides (Evanston, Illinois: Row Peterson and Company, 1954), 194.

A "disagree" with all the statements means an individual has expressed a high feeling of political obligation. Table 4 presents the degree of sense of citizen duty for these teenagers.

TABLE 4

Sense of Citizen Duty and Feeling of Political Efficacy of Respondents

		Political Efficacy		Citizen Duty	
		Total	N	Total	N
Low	0	7.2	49		
	1	15.3	104	1.9	13
	2	26.8	182	8.2	56
	3	34.6	235	53.8	365
High	4	16.1	109	36.1	245
		100.0	679	100.0	679

It was found in this group that almost 90 percent felt they had an obligation to vote in elections. It would seem this group of adolescents have a well-developed sense of political responsibility. Individuals who believe this way can be expected to participate and engage in political activity.

A third indicator of attitude is the feeling of political efficacy of the individual. This is the feeling that an individual will express when he feels that his taking part in political action of some type will have an impact on the political process. A scale score is determined by the answer of the respondent of "agree" or "disagree" to the following statements:

1. "I don't think public officials care much what people like me think.

2. "Voting is the only way that people like me can have any say about how the government runs things."

3. "People like me don't have any say about what government does."

4. "Sometimes politics and government seem so complicated that a person like me can't really understand what is going on."

A disagree response on the four items was coded as an efficacious answer. Table 4 presents the degree of efficacy for the individuals in this group of adolescents.

In Table 1 it was noted that only 12.8 percent of the respondents indicated that they considered participation in politics as an act of good citizenship. Apparently political participation for many was not salient at least not at the time they were asked the question. In Table 4 it was found that 22.5 percent of the students did not believe they could exert much influence in the political system. However, of the total group 50 percent believed the opposite to be true. Also from Table 4 it was learned that 89.9 percent of the respondents said they believed it was important to vote in elections.

This is an indication that many of these youngsters do not have a conception of citizenship that involved political participation, nevertheless, a majority of them did have attitudes and beliefs that indicated they believed their political participation would be important and worthwhile. Another indication of such attitudes can be seen in Table 4 where a large majority of the group believed voting to be an important, meaningful political obligation. What is important to know is from what environments that surround the American adolescent does he develop his beliefs and attitudes toward voting and political participation. What have been the

experiences of those who have a high degree of feeling of political obligation and what have been the experiences of those who do not have such a feeling?

The origins of such attitudes and beliefs are investigated in the hope of finding those characterisitics of the four environments under consideration that are associated with the student's concept of the feeling of political efficacy and the sense of citizen duty?

Origin of the Sense of Civic Obligation

It has been emphasized previously that the individuals in this group had achieved a rather well developed sense of citizen duty. A rather large majority (Table 4) of these adolescents had achieved a citizen duty scale score of three or more. According to earlier research such individuals would be prone to participate in the political process now and in the future. At least Campbell found this to be true of adults who scored the same high degree of citizen duty as reported by the respondents of this study. Such behavior can be definitely expected of the 26.1 percent who were at the top of this attitude scale.[19] What are the causes of such positive attitudes on the part of the adolescents? From this study it has been revealed that none of the characteristics of the four environments, family, school, community, and mass media were associated in any way with the degree of citizen duty exhibited by these adolescents. Therefore, it was necessary to accept the null hypothesis of the relationship in every instance. The data has shown that the sense of citizen duty of the student is not related to his family or school

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[19] Ibid., 198.

environments. The same was true with regard to the communtiy and his exposure to the mass media. However, the discussion cannot be concluded without recognizing that such widespread acceptance of an attitude essential to a democratic political system did not grow in the consciousness of these adolescents without some reinforcement from somewhere, or from someone.

One possible explanation for such results would be to recognize that such attitudes may very well have their origin in something which is beyond the scope of this study. It is entirely possible that the elementary social studies program of this school system may have emphasized the importance of voting to such a degree that the results found here would materialize. Another possible reason for the pattern is the fact that this is a mid-western, middle-class city, populated by university faculty and administration to a large extent. Such demographic characterisitcs would seem to indicate a population which would be expected to exercise its franchis as a total population to a far greater extent than other groups with a population of a lower socio-economic status. In other words, parental and adult patterns of political behavior, in this instance voting, are so universal that the younger generation see it as a political obligation. Furthermore, the pattern established by this group of adolescents (Table 4) is also one which is very similar to the sense of citizen duty exhibited by similar socio-economic adult groups in the United States.[20]

Therefore, it is concluded that what has been seen here is not such as exceptional pattern for children of middle-class America. However,

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[20] Ibid., 197.

because of the high degree of citizen duty shown, it can be concluded that this group is largely committed to the belief that they had a political obligation of voting. Also such a degree of citizen duty indicates that the adolescents in the group have a greater likelihood of active political participation than was expected. The above is important when one looks at the voting and participation patterns found in middle-class America.

Adolescent Belief in Value of Political Participation

The sense of political efficacy has been defined as the feeling one has that his participation in politics does have an impact on the political system of one's country. An individual who exhibits a high degree of political efficacy believes that it is worthwhile to perform one's civic duties. Furthermore, it is belief that political and social change is possible through one's political participation.

It was established previously that the feeling of political efficacy has been found to be related to political participation in that politically active people generally have a high degree of efficacy. Through the use of this concept it is believed it can be determined to what degree these adolescents hold beliefs that are conducive to political participation. It has been established previously that this group of adolescents indicated that they were a rather efficacious group. It has also been determined that boys and girls do not differ significantly in this civic attribute. The data also has revealed that there is no significant difference between the youngest and oldest individuals in the group. In other words, eighteen year olds were not any more or less efficacious than the fifteen year olds.

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Home Environment and Adolescent Belief About the Value of Political Participation

It has been an assumption of this study that the family or home environment would exert a major influence on the attitudes and beliefs of the adolescent about political participation. It has been found from the data that the political efficacy of the adolescent is associated with some characteristics of the home environment. The level of education of the parent, the willingness of the parents to allow politics to be discussed in the home and the level of intensity of political participation of the parents are found to be associated with the adolescent's belief that participation in politics is worthwhile. However, it was found the degree of adolescent efficacy was not associated with the occupation category of the head of the household. Such a finding corresponds to the research of the Survey Research Center where Campbell observed that a high degree of efficacy is not a prerogative of the socially advantaged citizen.[21] It is the impression of this writer that this means that the feeling of political worth by the young can be fostered in any home regardless of wealth or social status provided other factors are present. Those other factors could be one or all the environmental characteristics found here to be associated with adolescent efficacy.

First, Table 5 presents the relationship of the level of education of parents and the degree of political efficacy of the adolescent. It may be noted that in this table the adolescents who are the least efficacious are the ones who have lived in homes where the parents have attained

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[21] Ibid., 194.

TABLE 5

Association Between the Education of Parents and
Feeling of Political Efficacy of the Adolescent
(in percentages)

Feeling of Political Efficacy	Father's Education						Mother's Education					
	Don't Know	Grade School	High School	College	Graduate	Total	Don't Know	Grade School	High School	College	Graduate	Total
Low 0	10.0	13.5	7.3	3.2	6.2	7.2	10.7	13.5	8.8	3.4	6.0	7.2
1	22.5	23.0	14.6	13.2	10.3	15.3	17.9	14.6	20.2	11.2	14.0	15.3
2	22.5	27.8	30.3	30.5	17.9	26.8	35.7	32.3	21.0	30.7	18.0	26.8
3	35.0	31.0	33.7	36.3	36.6	34.0	28.6	32.3	35.7	35.2	34.0	34.0
High 4	10.0	4.8	14.0	16.8	29.0	16.1	7.1	7.3	14.3	19.5	28.0	16.1
Total	100.0	100.1	99.9	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
No. of Cases	40	126	178	190	145	679	28	96	238	267	50	679
	$x^2 = 54.79$ P < .001 C = .273						$x^2 = 40.24$ P < .001 C = .237					

the lowest level of education, or the completion of eight grades or less. In the same table it may be noted that the most efficacious of the adolescents are generally from homes where the parents have attended college or attained a baccalaureate or graduate degree. It may also be noted that for the students of medium efficacy, a score of 3, the proportional difference of the columns, where the education of the parents was known by the students, is relatively low. This is more true of fathers than the mothers. From such results one gets the impression that in the medium group of efficacy the intellectual level of the home is not as much an influence as in the highly efficacious or those of the lowest degree of efficacy. Explanation for such a relationship is based on the idea that educated people tend more often to believe they have a worthwhile contribution to make in any group or organization where they are a member. Educated people generally are more articulate and have the skill to put such a belief into action. In politics, for example, the greater the degree of education, the greater the likelihood the individual will participate in politics. The data in Table 5 indicate that those parents who are more educated were able through example or by expressions to instill the same beliefs about political participation to their children. Therefore, it is only reasonable to expect that in homes where politics were engaged in, the subject also became a topic of conversation. The adolescents living in such an environment would be more efficacious than adolescents who never heard the topic discussed in their homes. Table 4 reveals that this is true. It is evident from this table that where political discussion was not a family activity, such adolescents were the least efficacious group of the five categories. The most efficacious group was composed of those who had heard politics discussed regularly

Table 6

The Association of Home Discussion of Politics and the Adolescent Civic Attributes of Feeling of Political Efficacy
(in percentages)

Feeling of Political Efficacy		Home Discussion of Politics: Regularly	Frequently	Occasionally	Never	Total
Low	0	6.5	5.4	7.1	13.1	7.2
	1	3.2	9.6	15.7	34.4	15.3
	2	16.1	27.7	28.3	19.7	26.8
	3	54.8	35.5	34.2	24.6	34.6
High	4	19.4	21.7	14.7	8.2	16.1
Total		100.0	99.9	100.0	100.0	100.0
No. of Cases		31	166	421	61	679

$x^2 = 39.402$ $P < .001$ $C = .234$

at home. Such individuals were the most convinced that the participation of the individual in politics could achieve the political and social changes they desired. When the topic was frequently or occasionally discussed, note that the greatest difference in attitude appears at the extreme end of the scale. The data leaves an impression that the informal discussions that take place at the dinner table or elsewhere do play an important role in the political socialization of the adolescent. Where it was found that degree of efficacy was associated with parents educational background one would assume that this type of parent would generate the highest frequency of discussion.

TABLE 7

The Association of Discussion of Politics at Home and Feeling of Political Efficacy of the Adolescent by Education of Parents

		Father's Education (Graduate School)				Mother's Education (College)			
		Home Discussion of Politics							
Feeling of Political Efficacy		Freq.	Occas.	Never	Total	Freq.	Occas.	Never	Total
Low	1	6.3	19.4	66.7	16.6	10.1	14.1	66.7	15.5
	2	21.9	16.7	0.0	17.9	25.6	33.5	5.6	28.7
	3	39.1	36.1	22.2	36.6	39.5	32.9	22.2	35.0
High	4	32.8	27.8	11.1	29.0	24.8	19.4	5.6	20.8
Total		100.0	100.0	100.0	100.1	100.0	99.9	100.1	100.1
No. of cases		64	72	9	145	129	170	18	317
		$x^2 = 22.329$ P < .01 C = .365				$x^2 = 43.291$ P < .001 C = .347			

To check this we compared the student efficacy and frequency of political discussion by the parents level of education. In Table 5 we note that few adolescents of college educated parents had not heard some political discussions. Students who indicated hearing such conversation frequently are found to be more efficacious than the "never" group. The data also indicates that where political discussion does take place the frequency of discussion is not as important an influence as the total lack of such conversations. This data agrees with previous research which reveals the association that exists between a persons level of education and his acceptances and feelings about political participation.[22] As expected, note that the college educated parent is likely to be a person most successful in sociolizing his off-spring to a feeling of political importance and worth which in turn can result in political participation.

TABLE 8

Association of Home Discussion of Politics and Concept of the Good Citizen by the Adolescent (in percentages)

Concept of Citizenship	Home Discussion of Politics				
	Regularly	Frequently	Occasionally	Never	Total
Conforming	16.1	23.5	38.2	36.1	33.4
Contributing	41.9	53.6	41.8	39.3	44.5
Participating	38.7	14.5	11.2	6.6	12.8
No Response	3.2	8.4	8.8	18.0	9.3
Total	99.9	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
No. of Cases	31	166	421	61	679

$x^2 = 40.75$ $P < .001$ $C = .238$

[22]Herbert Hyman, Political Socialization (New York: The Free Press of Glencoe, 1959), 69-91.

To further the idea that through discussion of politics the home influences the level of efficacy in its younger members, the frequency of discussion in the home was compared with the adolescent's concept of a good citizen. Table 8 presents the association between these variables. The table indicates that those adolescents who had experienced a good deal of discussion about politics were the most prone to see participation in politics as one characteristic of the good citizen. It should also be noted that such individuals have a decreasing tendency to see the good citizen as one who conforms to a set of behavior standards. There is also a slightly greater tendency that the same type of adolescent identified the good citizen as one who votes and will contribute to the affairs of his community.

Table 8 reveals also that adolescents who experience little or no political discussion in their homes tend to hold a "conforming" concept of citizenship but where discussion is increased such an attitude diminishes. The only concept of citizenship which seems not to be influenced by the level of political discussion is that of "contributing." It appears that it made little difference how much discussion of politics the adolescent heard as long as some discussion took place. Therefore, it is seen that the discussion of politics in the home tends to make the adolescent more efficacious and more cognizant of the importance of participation in community activities, voting, and politics. If such is the case, it would be expected that parents who discuss such topics with or around their children might very well be efficacious citizens who are involved in some sort of political activity.

TABLE 9

Association of Home Discussion of Politics and
Concept of Citizenship by Sex

	Boys			Girls		
	Discussion of Politics in the Home*					
Concept of Citizenship	Freq.	Occas.	Total	Freq.	Occas.	Total
Conforming	29.9	46.9	42.4	20.0	35.8	29.9
Contributing	46.8	38.4	40.6	62.9	54.9	57.9
Participating	23.4	14.7	17.0	17.1	9.2	12.2
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	99.2	100.0
No. of Cases	77	211	288	105	173	278
	$x^2 = 7.343$	$P < .05$	$C = .158$	$x^2 = 9.531$	$P < .01$	$C = .182$

*This table compares adolescents who claim politics were discussed in their home.

When political discussions take place in the home do boys and girls reach different conclusions about the role of the good citizen. Earlier it was noted that the sexes did not differ significantly in degree of political efficacy. This is not the case with regards to adolescent concept of citizenship. In Table 9 note that in homes where political discussions had taken place boys and girls have been influenced to view citizenship in a slightly different manner. More girls, it appears, are influenced by informal talk to a more activist role than the boys. Boys as a group tend to equate citizenship in a more heterogeneous way. Note also, that an individual exposed to political discussions most frequently has the more sophisticated concept of citizenship, this is participating. Also these informal conversations of the family appear to cause the adolescent to see citizenship practices differently for the sexes, i.e., role specialization. The data indicates that girls tend to see involvement in community activity as more an appropriate citizen role whereas a larger proportion of boys lean more toward partisan political activity.

The data in Table 9 indicates that the informal political discussions of the home can serve as a medium for parents to motivate their children to accept an activist role as a citizen. Therefore the orientation of the adult to the political system is an important item in the political sociolization of the adolescent. Table 7 also indicates that in some homes where politics are a discussion topic some students are taught that the good citizen obeys the laws, pays his taxes, etc. - a conforming concept of citizenship. The acceptances of a more sophisticated concept of citizenship and thus seeing the role of the individual as something more than conformance to a set of behavioral standards may possibly result if enough reinforcement of the former is present.

TABLE 10

Association Between Home Discussion of Politics and Students Concept of Politics by Year in School

	Sophmores			Juniors			Seniors		
	Discussion of Politics in the Home								
Concept of Citizenship	Freq.	Occas.	Total	Freq.	Occas.	Total	Freq.	Occas.	Total
Conformity	29.8	50.9	44.8	27.0	42.6	37.4	13.0	29.3	23.9
Contribution	57.4	37.9	43.6	55.1	46.0	49.1	56.5	55.4	55.8
Participation	12.8	11.2	11.7	18.0	11.4	13.6	30.4	15.2	20.3
Total	100.0	100.0	100.1	100.1	100.0	100.1	99.9	99.0	100.0
No. of Cases	47	116	163	89	176	265	46	92	138
	x^2=6.311 P<.05 C= .193			x^2 = 6.760 P<.05 C= .158			x^2=6.916 P<.05 C=.218		

*This table compares adolescents who claim politics were discussed in their home.

TABLE 11

Association Between Home Discussion of Politics and Adolescent Concept of Citizenship by Age

	18 and older				16 and younger			
Concept of Citizenship	Discussion of Politics in the Home: Freq.	Occas.	Never	Total	Freq.	Occas.	Never	Total
Conforming	19.0	34.8	60.0	30.9	22.1	47.2	37.0	38.3
Contributing	45.2	51.1	40.0	48.9	64.7	42.5	51.9	50.5
Participating	35.7	14.1	0.0	20.1	13.2	10.2	11.1	11.3
TOTAL	99.9	100.0	100.0	99.9	100.0	99.9	100.0	100.1
No. of Cases	42	92	5	139	68	127	27	222
	$X^2 = 11.724$		P<.05	C = 279	$X^2 = 12.037$		P<.05	C = 227

Table10 gives an indication that the maturing adolescent with a functioning socialization agent, the home, will more likely see a contributing-participation role for the citizen. The data indicates such a thing takes place when you compare the dependent and independent variable by maturity of the student, i.e., grade in school. There is a significant change in attitude between students of different age or grade classification.

Note also, that the homes where political discussion was a frequent topic all ages of students had a more sophisticated concept of citizenship than where it was an occasional topic. From these results it appears that political participation increases in saliency for the adolescent exposed to informal persuasion. This exposure is probably most effective when it takes place over a long period of time and frequently.

The above data compares only those who have been exposed to the independent variable of discussion. Table 11 allows us to contrast differences between recipients of discussion and those void of such stimuli. Significant difference was found between such groups in the oldest and youngest of this population. Recipients of the family discussion stimulus tend to see citizenship on the contributing-participation level. This propensity for involvement is more true of the abler student, youngest and oldest, frequently exposed to discussion. Participation in politics was the least salient for students not hearing politics discussed at home and the youngest students hearing the topic occasionally discussed. As before, we see the total absence of discussion of politics as a more retarding affect on the individuals affective

development than the frequency of discussion. If some discussion of the topic of politics takes place within earshot of the young it will be a factor in assisting the listener in accepting a contributing or participating role in the social and political system. All incidents of discussions are not supportive of such roles however. From the results of the previous tables we have seen that there are individuals who have witnessed political discussion, but see the role of the citizen in a conforming context. The speakers in these incidents may have been negative or opposed to participation and thus are inculcated in the young their attitudes about such acts. For those who accept participation or contribution without family discussion it appears that either direct experience or peer group influence could have been the stimulus. The direct experience may take place in school situations or in community base activities. The latter could include political campaigns.

Perception of Parents' Political Activity By the Adolescents

To be influenced by another person one has to have some idea of the behavior of that person or what it has been. It is the contention of this study that the adolescent who can correctly identify the political affiliation and partisan political activity of his parents can be considered to be more politically aware than one who cannot accomplish such a task. Also the parent who conveys his political preference to his children is performing an important task in the political socialization of the child. A parent who will not, or cannot, accomplish this task leaves a gap in the citizenship training.

To judge the accuracy of the awareness of the adolescent, the

students were asked to record why they thought was true of two aspects of the political behavior of their parents. The students identified the political party they thought the parents preferred and then checked those activities listed in the Campaign Activity Index they thought their parents had performed in the most recent election. A questionnaire was sent to the parents of each student and they in turn indicated their preference of political party and type of political activities in which they had participated during the most recent election. With this information, it was possible to check the accuracy of the response of the students and thus obtain another indicator of their political awareness.

Tables 12 and 13 must be read in a certain way to see how accurate the students were in their perception. The proportions shown in each cell represent the percentage of the parents who were identified by their children in three of the given categories. Each column represents the parents who identified themselves according to the same categories. Therefore, the percentage of students who correctly identified mothers and fathers true political behavior is given in the bracketed cells on the main diagonal. For example, in the first column of Table it is found that 71.2 percent of the students correctly named the political party preference of their fathers. In the Democratic column it is seen that 18.2 percent mislabeled their fathers. Eleven and a half percent of the fathers who were Democrats were identified as Independent by their children.

In accordance with previous research, it is expected that the students would recall the political party preference of the family with a high degree of accuracy. Table 12 indicates that such is the case, except where the parents consider themselves to be independent of party

TABLE 12

Actual Political Partisanship of Parents and the Perception of the Student of Political Party Preference of Parents (in percentages)

Student Perception	Indicated Party Preference of Parents: Father				Mother			
	Democrat	Republican	Independent	Total	Democrat	Republican	Independent	Total
Democratic	[71.2]	11.1	31.8	39.1	[76.6]	13.3	23.1	37.5
Republican	6.7	[78.7]	18.2	39.1	7.4	[74.3]	26.2	39.7
Independent	11.5	5.6	[40.9]	14.1	7.4	8.8	[41.5]	16.2
Don't Know	10.6	4.6	9.1	7.8	8.5	3.5	9.2	6.6
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.1	99.9	99.9	100.0	100.0
No. of cases	104	108	44	256	94	113	65	273

$x^2 = 156.89$ $P < .001$ $x^2 = 158.199$ $P < .001$ $C = .606$

TABLE 13

Actual Political Participation of Parents and Perception of the Students of the Political Participation of the Parents (in percentages)

Student Perception	Actual Participation of Parents: Father				Mother			
	Apathetic	Spectator-Voted	Active	Total	Apathetic	Spectator-Voted	Active	Total
Apathetic	[21.4]	7.6	4.2	8.6	[28.6]	6.9	2.5	9.5
Voted only	64.3	[63.9	38.5	59.1	59.2	[80.7	45.6	66.7
Voted + one Activity	14.3	11.8]	26.0	17.5	6.1	8.3]	19.0	11.0
Active + two or more Activities	0.0	3.4	[16.7	7.8	6.1	2.8	[16.5	7.3
Don't Know	0.0	3.4	14.6]	7.0	0.0	1.4	16.5]	5.5
Total	100.0	100.1	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.1	100.1	100.0
No. of cases	42	119	66	257	49	45	79	273

$x^2 = 57.464$ $P < .001$ $C = .427$ $x^2 = 78.012$ $P < .001$ $C = .471$

label. Here fathers who considered themselves independent are mislabeled more often (50.0 percent) than those with a partisan preference. Mothers who classified themselves as independent were just as difficult to label (49.0 percent). The table reveals that some students had a difficult time placing partisan preference of their parents in the correct party. Republican fathers are more accurately identified than fathers who are Democrats. Democratic mothers are better identified than fathers, with the opposite true of Republicans. Independency was a definite stumbling block for the adolescents as more than half the fathers who considered themselves independent were mislabeled. From the data, it appears that those who identified with one of the political parties were easily identified but the independent offers a problem for the inexperienced ears of the adolescent.

The students were asked to report on the type of political activity participated in by their parents. The next table can be interpreted in the same manner as with Table 12. Table 13 can be used to identify how many students correctly identified their parents' political activity. For example, 21.4 percent identified their fathers as apathetic, which was correct according to the testimony of the fathers. In the same column it may be noted that 64.3 percent of the fathers had voted without the knowledge of their children while 14.3 percent had voted and participated in one way in the campaign. The single act could have been a financial contribution, work for a party candidate, candidate for office, or as an officeholder. The data reveals that voters were the easier to identify correctly and those parents who indicated they had played a very active part in the most recent political campaigns were the most incorrectly identified. It is also noted that political

contributions, other than voting by parents, is much less apparent to their children than their political party preference.

Previously it was pointed out that homes where political events were a topic of discussion the younger members of those families have feelings and attitudes that are conducive to involvement in partisan activity. In accordance with this one would hypothesize that the same type of home would also be the place where children have the most information about the political activity of their parents. The data reveals just such a situation and further indicates that frequency of discussion increases the probability of an individuals correct perception.

Note in Table 14 that the increase of discussion in the home has increased the adolescents successful indentification of the parents level of political activity. This is true for both sexes with regards to mother, and when we compare only homes where discussion took place it was also true of boys for fathers. In all cases we see that the amount of such talk is related with the ability to correctly identify the parents level of involvement in political affairs.

This association is stronger in the case of the boys for both parents, but only true for the girls and their mother. Either boys are more interested or are better or more willing listeners. This explanation does not go far enough for most of us, but from this data we can see that frequency of discussion does influence some adolescents' ability to perceive adult political behavior. However, we note that a majority of the adolescents were wrong in their discription of mom and dad. Another factor that can influence the

TABLE 14

Association of Home Discussion of Politics and the Adolescent's Awareness of Parents Political Activity by Sex

	Sex							
	Boys				Girls			
Correction Perception of Mother's P. A.	Home Discussion of Politics							
	Freq.	Occa.	Never	Total	Freq.	Occa.	Never	Total
Correct	48.9	17.9	0.0	27.5	31.0	14.1	16.7	21.5
Wrong	51.1	82.1	100.0	72.5	78.5	69.0	85.9	83.3
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	109.5	83.1	104.6	104.8
No. of Cases	47	84	7	138	58	71	6	135

$x^2 = 17.391$ $P < .001$ $C = 335$ $x^2 = 5.524$ $P < .05$ $C = 198$

Boys

Discussion of Politics

Correction Perception of Father's Political Activity	Freq.	Occas.	Total
Correct	40.4	21.7	28.5
Wrong	59.6	78.3	71.5
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0
No. of Cases	47	83	130

$x^2 = 5.175$ $P < .05$ $C = 196$

TABLE 15

Association of Home Discussion of Politics and the Adolescents Awareness of Parents Political Activity by Age

	Age					
	17 Years			18 and Older		
	Discussion of Politics in Home					
Correct Perception of Mother's Political Activity	Freq.	Occas.	Total	Freq.	Occas.	Total
Correct	40.9	12.5	23.3	37.5	13.2	22.6
Wrong	76.7	59.1	76.7	62.5	86.8	77.4
Total	117.6	71.6	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
No. of Cases	44	72	116	24	38	62
	x^2 = 12.343	P < .001	C = .31	x^2=4.986	P<.05	C=.273

adolescents perception is his maturity. Table 15 reveals that except in the case of the youngster age group, 16 and under, correct perception was associated with frequency of political discussion by age. Note also that this was found true for Mother not Father.

Several reasons can be given for the degree of perception these adolescents had of parental political behavior. First in importance is that in some homes there exists a lack of communication on such subjects between the generations. Such situations can be the result of parents showing little concern about politics to the child with the result of little or no discussion of such topics. It is also possible that some parents intentionally withhold such information from their children. With party identification, the mislabeling could be because of the nature of the 1964 national campaign. This campaign caused many adults who considered themselves to be politically independent to line up with a political party and express their opinion so as to be heard by the family.

It is also suggested that in the modern world of loosening family ties, the communication between generations is such that the activities of the older generation, especially thise performed outside the home, are not obvious to the younger members of the family. For example, if a father or a mother votes, it is easier for the family to have some knowledge of this act than any other partisan act the parent could perform. Parents, particularly fathers, who are outside the home a great deal of the time, could be actively involved in partisan activities without the children having any knowledge of it. A monetary contribution given at the office, for example, could easily be unknown to the younger members of the family. It is possible then, given these

circumstances, that an adolescent would misjudge the political identification and intensity of particiaption of their parents. The importance of the family in the political socialization of the young has not been played down by this data. However, one must be impressed by the informal, indirect and at times unconscious manner the process is executed. As a result of the above we have a better understanding of how parents do or do not transfer their partisanship and political behavior to their children. We have also observed how such transfers are at times incomplete and misperceived.

The Activity Prone Adolescent and the Feeling of Political Efficacy

In accordance with previous research by Erbe[22] it was hypothesized that adolescents who exhibited a high degree of particiaption in extra-curricular activities at school and in community affairs would exhibit a greater degree of political efficacy than students who did not particiapte in such activities. It was also hypothesized that those adolescents who had engaged in partisan political activity would express a greater degree of political efficacy than students who had not had such experience. Tha data presented in this section reveals that the null hypothesis of no relationship in each of the above cases can be rejected and it can be concluded that the activity prone students are those who generally have a medium or high degree of political efficacy.

The data on the extra-curricular activity in the school will first be considered. It was found that the efficacy of the student was not

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[22]Erbe, William, "Social Involvement and Political Activity: A Replication and Elaboration," American Sociological Review, XXIX (April, 1964), 198-215.

associated with any characteristics of the school program other than extra-curricular activities. The feeling of political efficacy did not increase as expected when the student increased his exposure to the school in general, as measured by length of time in school, or to the social studies curriculum in particular. Seniors, or those who had taken more than the required courses in social studies, were no more or less efficacious than the under-classmen or students who avoided the elective subjects of the social studies. However, in Table 16 the opposite is found to be true. The table reveals that students who were very active, active, or moderately so in extra-curricular affairs generally tended to have a higher degree of efficacy than students who were involved in none of the extra-curricular activities. Such students were members of two or more organizations and were officers in one or more such activities. It should be noted that those students who were involved in music or athletics only, were also generally more efficacious than those who were not involved in the extra-curricular program of the school. It is also worthy of note that students who indicated they were "members only" of various groups were, as a group, only slightly more efficacious than those who abstained completely. None of the activities that were mentioned by the students as organizations in which they participated were political in origin or orientation. Therefore, it can be said that such organizations do not contribute in a formal way to the development of political beliefs by these adolescents. Rather this seems to suggest that the extra-curricular program of the school serves as a means by which youngsters exhibit and practice the skills of leadership and membership in small groups.

TABLE 16

Association of Student Participation in School Extra-Curricular Activities and His Feeling of Political Efficacy (in percentages)

Feeling of Political Efficacy	Extra-Curricular Activity: Very Active	Active	Moderately Active	Member Only	Athlete Music	None	Total
Low 0	0.0	3.4	6.9	3.7	6.3	11.6	7.2
1	14.7	7.9	12.9	13.4	14.1	19.6	15.3
2	20.6	22.5	25.7	39.0	28.1	26.2	26.8
3	39.7	43.8	34.7	32.9	37.5	30.2	34.6
High 4	25.0	22.5	19.8	11.0	14.1	12.4	16.1
Total	100.0	100.1	100.0	100.0	100.1	100.0	100.0
No. of cases	68	89	101	82	64	275	679

$x^2 = 44.088$ $P < .01$ $C = .245$

It appears that there is a selection process whereby students who feel welcome in the school environment find in the extra-curricular program a means by which they can emulate parental patterns and exercise their outgoing nature. Both these desires are the achievement of the home environment. It is the contention of this study that the school extra-curricular program in which a minority of the students participate actively, is a training ground for the adolescent who has the expectation of being a community affairs leader some time in the future. In this context the school voluntary organizations can be seen as the counterpart of the community organizations where it has been found in a number of studies that persons who tend to belong to such voluntary groups

are more likely to participate in politics. Erbe,[23] for example, found that adult political participation was highly associated with organizational involvement of the person. Therefore, it can be argued that the extra-curricular programs of the school are contributing in an informal way to the political socialization of some of the students. First, it enabled some to practice leadership and organizational skills necessary in a community organization and in political activity. Second, it enabled some to realize their potential as leaders and allowed others to experience the feeling of accomplishment in a task well done. This latter item would be paramount in the development of a feeling of personal efficacy. Third, these activities have served as a societal reinforcement of a behavior pattern which began in the family. As a result of the reinforcements, the satisfaction gained in the school experience may project the adolescent into community organizations.

Approximately the same relationship was found between adolescents and their involvement in community affairs. Table 17 indicates that those teenagers who were participating to some degree were more efficacious than those who were not involved. The most efficacious groups were the very active and active. The degree of group difference that exists between the "member only" and students who were not involved is very slight. This table indicates that many of the efficacious students of the high school have already involved themselves in some voluntary

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[23] Ibid.

TABLE 17

Association of Student Participation in Community Affairs and Feeling of Political Efficacy of the Adolescent (in percentages)

Feeling of Political Efficacy	Student Participation: Very Active	Active	Moderately Active	Member Only	None	Total
Low 0	5.0	7.5	6.2	4.0	8.7	7.2
1	9.1	7.5	12.3	14.7	18.8	15.3
2	21.5	15.0	21.5	32.0	29.6	26.8
3	43.0	42.5	44.6	30.7	30.2	34.6
High 4	21.5	27.5	15.4	18.7	12.7	16.1
Total	100.1	100.0	100.0	100.1	100.0	100.0
No. of Cases	121	40	65	75	378	679

$\chi^2 = 33.199$ $P < .01$ $C = .216$

organization in the community. What Erbe[24] has verified for the adults with regard to participation seems to be true also of adolescents. The adult pattern of the "joiner" has been established somewhat during adolescence.

The last community involvement to be considered is the participation of the adolescent in political activity. As was expected, involvement was associated with the feeling of political efficacy of the individual. Table 18 shows that adolescents who had a high degree of political efficacy generally had been more involved in political activity than

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[24] Ibid.

TABLE 18

Association of the Degree of Political Activity of the Student and His Feeling of Political Efficacy (in percentages)

Feeling of Political Efficacy	Students' Political Activity				
		Spectators			
	Active	1	2	Apathetic	Total
Low 0	3.1	7.9	7.1	10.8	7.2
1	13.7	13.2	13.9	20.8	15.3
2	20.6	18.4	30.6	28.4	26.8
3	44.3	39.5	32.1	29.1	34.6
High 4	18.3	31.1	16.4	10.8	16.1
Total	100.0	100.1	100.1	99.9	100.0
No. of Cases	131	76	324	148	679

$x^2 = 25.613$ $P < .05$ $C = .191$

students who did not feel such activity accomplished much. However, it may be noted that some of the students in the medium range, i.e., scale score 2 and 3, did have a minimal involvement in the recent political campaigns. But the heavy contributors to political compaigns, i.e., the "active" or "spectator 1," were generally the most efficacious group of adolescents. But it should also be noted that there are individuals of low efficacy who were heavy contributors. It could be that such adolescents were dragged in by the zealous parents, a politically active friend, or an attractive political candidate. It is also reasonable to consider this lower degree of efficacy as a product of this early political involvement. It is very possible that the young initiate could be further alientated from political activity with a disillusioning

first experience.

Attention is drawn to the fact that there was a large number of students who had a medium or high degree of efficacy, but who were not involved in any community activity. Several reasons for this seem pertinent here. First, many students have part-time jobs, some of which occur during the periods of activity by comunity groups. Second, the most efficacious of their group could be so occupied by the school activities that there is not time to participate elsewhere. A third reason may be that there is simply a lack of opportunity to participate. This lack of opportunity could be either that there are no youth organizations functioning, that many organizations do not try to recruit teenagers, or that the adolescent does not have parental example or assistance to get him into community affairs.

Community Involvement and Adolescent Concept of Citizenship

One more activity which appears to have contributed to the concept of citizenship by these young people is the degree of personal involvement they have had in the voluntary organizations of their community. The data in Table 19 reveal that individuals who were organization leaders in such groups were the most likely to see the duty of a good citizen as one of voting and community involvement.

The more active ones had the least tendency to claim the good citizen conforms only to the behavior standards of the society. This increased involvement in community affairs has increased the importance of such activity in the eyes of these students. However, except in the

TABLE 19

Association Between the Community Involvement of the Adolescent and His Concept of the Good Citizen (in percentages)

Concept of Citizenship	Degree of Community Involvement: Very Active	Active	More Active	Member	None	Total
Conforming	19.0	30.0	32.3	34.7	38.4	33.4
Contributing	61.2	52.5	49.2	44.0	37.6	44.5
Participating	15.7	15.0	15.4	18.7	10.1	12.8
No. Response	4.1	2.5	3.1	2.7	14.0	9.3
Total	100.1	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.1	100.0
No. of Cases	121	40	65	75	378	679

$x^2 = 49.37$ $P < .001$ $C = .260$

case of the "member only," increased involvement has not increased the importance of political participation in the consciousness of the students. Apparently the tasks the members perform in these organizations do not cause the adolescent to see the importance of political participation. However, it has been established that the members of civic voluntary organizations generally see political participation as a part of good citizenship more readily than non-participants.

The adolescents who have had such experiences in the community have developed a more sophisticated concept of citizenship than those who have not enjoyed such experiences. The opportunity to participate has registered an influence on the individual's concept of the good citizen. The adolescents who have had these experiences will be expected to

involve themselves in some community organization in the future. They may also be an influence on others of their age group.

To discover the impetus for the involvement the above association was investigated to see if some third dimensions could be seen as influencing the results. Earlier we found that students who were exposed to political discussion at home had a more sophisticated vision of citizenship and were more aware of the political activities of their parents. Is the same true with regards to other community activities? Table 20 indicates that this is true for some adolescents. Concept of citizenship and direct involvement in community activities was found to be associated when political discussion in the home has been observed by the young. Note in Table 20 as was expected the "active" and "very active" student shifts more readily to a contributing-participating citizenship with the exception of the "very active" group. Again, as before, we observe that the increase in frequency of discussion is associated with increase of involvement and the contributing-participation concept of citizenship.

One community activity which was not related to the student's concept of the good citizen is the involvement of the individual in political activities. This activity, or the absence of it, was not found to be associated with the student's concept of citizenship. This is a puzzling result as one would expect that a high degree of involvement certainly should have caused the adolescent to identify such activity with good citizenship, but this was not the case.

TABLE 20

Association of Students Involvement in Community Activity and Concept of Citizenship by Discussion of Politics in the Home

Concept of Citizenship		Discussion of Politics in the Home: Frequently — Students Community Activity: Very Active	Act.	Mod.	None	Total	Occasionally — Very Active	Act.	Mod.	None	Total
Conforming	1	38.0	11.9	14.3	15.8	24.2	47.0	26.1	45.3	38.3	41.9
Contribution	2	49.4	59.5	61.9	63.2	56.0	40.9	66.7	43.4	40.4	45.8
Participation	3	12.7	28.6	23.8	21.1	19.8	12.1	7.2	11.3	21.3	12.2
Total		100.1	100.0	100.0	100.1	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	99.9
No. of Cases		79	42	42	19	182	215	69	53	47	384

$x^2 = 16.265$ $P < .05$ $C = .286$ $x^2 = 18.339$ $P < .01$ $C = .213$

Learning Political Behavior

This study has demonstrated that the family is the key pacesetter in the political socialization of the individual. In this, it has not differed greatly with earlier studies of family role in political socialization. Accomplishment to be noted here is the information gained about how the young citizen is assisted by his family in learning about political behavior. We have observed that adolescents learn politically relevant beliefs, attitudes, social values and social skills in a less direct, deliberate way than was once believed. Their attitudes about political participation, politics and citizenship are more associated with their families than any other agent of socialization. It can be noted that the learning of attitudes conducive to active participation in the political system was accomplished not so much by deliberate indoctrination or conscious and rational means. Nevertheless, it is in the home environment that the political activists and apathetics have been molded. In effect the child is pre-cued in his home to a certain perception of the political community. The family accomplished this task through deliberate and non-deliberate teaching. The children can also learn from their home environment through observation of adult behavior, overheard conversation, parental discussion of news, television broadcasts, political experiences of the adults and their expressed political preferences. It is possible that in some homes the parents carry out a deliberate political education program to socialize the child to an issue or a party. This would be especially true of the upper middle class and professional people, but it is believed this is true of only a few.

This study gives little indication that the school was associated with the awareness and attitudes of the students. It was apparent that the school curricular and extra-curricular program did serve to provide the students with participation and experiences that were related to their concept of the good citizen. Students who considered it the duty of the good citizen to vote, participate in politics and community activity were the most actively involved in the extra-curricular program. The same was true of seniors and students who elected social studies courses. Overall the school experiences of the students appear to reinforce the students' acceptance of the obligation of voting and participation in politics.

It is also important to recognize that the least aware and the most apathetic students were the ones who generally avoided the social studies classroom and extra-curricular programs.

It appears that the overall characteristic of the community had more influence on the awareness and attitude of these adolescents than the school. The general characteristics of the city depict a type of atmosphere conducive to political awareness and participation. The political and social system of the community was such that it promoted a good degree of participation by the citizens. It is important to realize, however, that the influence of this environment could have been contingent on the amount of exposure the teenagers had to the community. The length of the family residence and the direct experience of the adolescent, particularly political participation, were all important in determining the community influence. It can be said that increased exposure to the community such as Iowa City allowed the adolescent to learn from observation and direct participation the know-

ledge, skills and attitudes needed for an active role in a democratic system. These experiences allowed the students to develop a more sophisticated concept of citizenship and caused them to recognize the importance of political participation in campaigns and elections. The direct experiences seem to supersede the accomplishments of the more formal means of the classroom.

From this it appears that the process of poltical socialization of the individual can be visualized as two giant funnels that are placed narrow end to narrow end. The adolescent can be said to stand in this aperture. One funnel stands for the home and its opposite would symbolize the ability of the individual to perceive the world beyind the home environment. The size, the length, and breadth of the latter funnel is directly proportional to the size and condition of the funnel representing the home. In this fashion is seen that the intensity and variety of political experiences the young have in their home determine their ability to perceive and internalize the various messages and stimuli received from the school, community, peers, teachers, the mass media, political events, and public personalities. The family will orient the adolescent to certain perceptions and attitudes which cause him to observe, participate, or avoid the formal and imformal instructions of the other environments. What the individual chooses to do in these other environments will reinforce the perceptions and attitudes he had learned from his earlier experiences in the home.

Therefore, the political socialization process is a conserving system which does not drastically alter political behavior, beliefs or attitudes of the adolescent. When change or cynicism does occur, it is probably the result of direct, purposeful experiences.

Implications of the Study

The American adolescent accepts voting as the most important means of bringing about political and social change. He also expresses an unexpected belief in the value of participation in campaigns and elections. Such attitudes may be a factor in the development of cynicism in adults when not followed by actual direct experiences.

These indications of an acceptance of voting and political particiaption by the adolescent suggests that the apathy of young adults toward such activity may be the result of post-high school experiences rather than in adolescence.

The alleviation of political apathy in children from the politically inert home should be the first order of business for the American schools in teaching citizenship. The community comprehensive high school could be the most effective environment for such a task rather than the socially, racially, economically segregated institutions.

The instances of active interest in political affairs resulting fom direct experience, presents a challenge to teachers to expose their students in a much greater degree to political and governmental activities.

It was learned from this study that the adolescent had motivational attitudes and experiences which indicated that there is an untapped reservoit of campaign assistance in the teenage group. Poltical parties would do well to encourage the early participation of these youngsters to the affairs of the party.

Analysis of public issues is a necessary skill for a citizen of a democracy. The implications of this study were that the school environment had failed to effect a change in the awareness of contemporary po-

litical issues of the student. The proper role of public issues and appropriate means of introduction of this content into the curriculum deserves the attention of school faculties.

The effectiveness of direct experience in community affaiers in general and politics in particular in producing favorable opinions on the duty of a good citizen should be recognized and acted upon by the schools. Principals and teachers should encourage this participation with word and deed by considering various means through which the students can be introduced to participation in the political environment of the community.

The findings of this study agrred with previous research of the influence of family and community environments on the political socialization of the individuals. With regards to the acceptance of political participation, these environments are most effective when the adolescent was allowed to observe or participate directly in the political environment and community affairs.

END

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